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WOMEN IN POLICING: A STUDY OF LOWER MAINLAND R.C.M.P. DETACHMENTS

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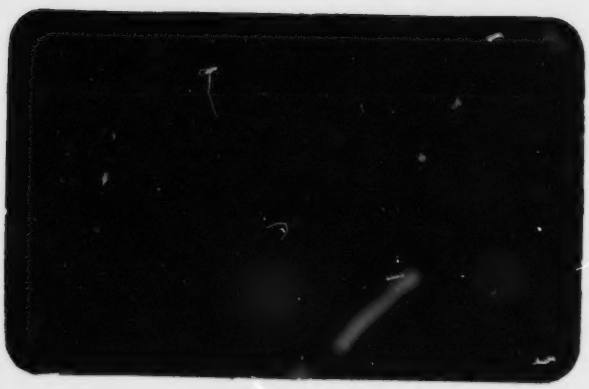

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CHAPTER 1

TRENDS IN THE HIRING OF FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS

Women in the Vancouver Police Department

The first Canadian policewomen were hired in Vancouver in 1912 and Toronto, Winnipeg, and Edmonton followed suit in 1913, 1917 and 1919 respectively (Owings, 1969). Halliday (1975) has prepared a brief historical account of women in the Vancouver Police Department which appears to be typical of the experience in other Canadian cities. Following the hiring of the first two women, who were neither trained nor issued with uniforms, a Women's Division was formed in 1921 which consisted of a women inspector and three female officers. These women were mainly employed as prison matrons, but in 1943 they were also dealing with juveniles and with women offenders and victims. Women were given uniforms in 1947 and in 1952 began to receive the same training program as male officers. However, their duties were still quite restricted and during part of the 1960's women were taken off all street duties and given jobs inside the police station. In 1973, the first women were assigned to general patrol duties. Shortly after that, the Department increased its hiring of women until by 1977 women made up approximately 5 percent of the department's strength. At the time this study was carried out, there were forty women officers on the force.

Tables 1-1 and 1-2 show the rate of increase in the number of female officers in Canada from 1960-1977 and the percentage of female officers employed in the major cities.

TABLE 1

Percentage of Females in Canadian Police Departments
for Selected Years from 1960-1977*

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	PERCENT FEMALES
1960	13,617	167	1.2
1965	13,038	189	1.4
1970	16,748	189	1.1
1971	18,088	190	1.0
1972	18,704	189	1.0
1973	20,588	208	1.0
1974	21,423	260	1.2
1975	22,296	369	1.7
1976	24,321	397	1.6
1977	24,711	433	1.8

*NOTE: Figures are for Canadian cities and districts over 50,000 population

TABLE 2

Percentage of Female Police Officers Employed in Cities and Districts over 100,000 Population in 1977

	MALES	FEMALES	PERCENT FEMALES
Burnaby (RCMP)	201	4	2.0
Calgary	889	27	3.0
Durham Regional (Ont.)	325	7	2.2
Edmonton	851	37	4.3
Halifax	275	2	.7
Halton Regional (Ont.)	265	4	1.5
Hamilton-Wentworth	694	10	1.4
Laval	338	0	0.0
London	313	7	2.2
Longueil	186	4	2.2
Montreal	5077	7	.1
Niagara Regional (Ont.)	562	15	2.7
Ottawa	583	6	1.0
Peel Regional (Ont.)	553	33	6.0
Quebec	429	4	.9
Regina	276	8	2.9
Saint John	188	7	3.7
Saskatoon	247	4	1.6
Sudbury Regional (Ont.)	209	7	3.3
Surrey (RCMP)	168	4	2.4
Thunder Bay	175	2	1.1
Toronto	5640	96	1.7
Vancouver	913	55	6.0
Waterloo Regional	429	8	1.9
Windsor	381	5	1.3
Winnipeg	1011	24	2.4
York Regional (Ont.)	302	2	.7

The Future of Women in Policing

In 1977, Parliament passd the Canadian Human Rights Act. Since similar legislation exists in each of the provinces, human rights legislation has now been extended to cover all organizations coring under Federal and Provincial jurisdiction. The various acts prohibit employers from discriminating on the grounds of sex, unless there is a bonafide occupational requirement for such discrimination. This applies both to hiring and to the provision of opportunities for those who already are members of an organization. While human rights commissions still must decide whether a bonafide occupational requirement exists for restricting the employment of women in policing or in the assignment of women to certain kinds of police work, court decisions in the United States and Britain, and the actions of provincial human rights commissions suggest that such an exemption will not be granted.

While legislation has been, and will continue to be, a major reason for the increased numbers of women police there are other factors involved as well. First of all, while there is some disagreement as to the number of women departments should employ and to the type of role in which they are used, virtually everyone feels that females have a contribution to make to policing. They are particularly valuable for such jobs as searching females without having to bring them into the station, undercover work, and intelligence work such as surveillance. Secondly, as the age structure of our population changes, the pool of eligible candidates for police work will diminish. The rapid decline in the birthrate following the baby boom means that the average age of the

Canadian population will increase significantly. Robert Brown, a statistician from the University of Waterloo, has calculated that the average growth rate in the Canadian labour force attributable to people 15-24 increased by 3.7 percent from 1960 to 1965; by 4.8 percent from 1965 to 1970; and 5.2 percent from 1970 to 1975. Since 1975 this rate has been dropping and will reach minus 2.2 percent by 1990 (Brown, 1979). During the 1980's there will be about 20 percent fewer men reaching recruitment age. Because of its lower birth rate, this problem will be particularly acute in Quebec, where the pool of potential recruits will drop by as much as 40 percent. Martin (1979) has looked at the projected demands for police recruits into the 1980's and has shown that even at current rates of labor force entry, police departments will have a difficult time attracting a sufficient number of male recruits. Martin's projection show a need for an additional eight percent of current strength each year from now until 1982.

The recruiting problem, which seems far off during a time when unemployment rates are high, can be rather dramatically illustrated by looking at an organization which has already been affected by a shortage of manpower—the U.S. Military. The pool of eligible recruits has been shrinking so rapidly that Cookson (1980) reports that by the late 1980's the U.S. Military will have to recruit between 30-50 percent of all fit and qualified young males to meet its manpower needs.

The fact that manpower demands are increasing while the pool of potential recruits is declining means that there will be a great deal

of competition for young workers and that police departments will not be in as favorable a hiring position as they have been in for the past few years. Unless salaries are significantly increased, or recruiting standards drastically changed, departments will have to hire more females. Hiring problems may be even more severe if private security companies, which have expanded rapidly during the past decade to the extent that there are now more private than public police in North America, decide to become more competitive with police departments in their recruitment.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

In order to provide background material for this research, a literature review was begun in 1978. The report, Women in Policing: A Review, was completed in 1979. Research instruments were developed during the period January - April, 1979 and data collection was carried out between May - September, 1979. The principal investigator was in Vancouver for six weeks during that period, and two research associates were in Vancouver for approximately four months. Figure 1 lists the information sources which were used in the research. While the data will not be discussed here, a similar study was also carried out with the RCMP in the Lower Mainland. In addition to the instruments used in the Vancouver study, the RCMP project also included a survey of male and female officers stationed in rural areas.

The study is one of the most detailed ever carried out in the area of women in policing and is one of the two largest studies which have ever been done on policing in Canada. In comparison with other women in policing studies, the research involved more extensive interviewing of police personnel than any of the American studies. Also, none of the earlier studies dealt with dispatchers or analyzed dispatch records. However, two of the earlier studies, which were carried out in New York City and in Philadephia, did much more extensive structured

observation. Each of these studies involved over 3,000 hours of ride-along. Another type of information which has been collected in some previous studies is an assessment of public reaction to female officers. A community survey was not included in this research.

FIGURE 1

MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENTS

NAME OF INSTRUMENT	SAMPLE SIZE	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
Male Questionnaire	200 randomly-selected male officers	A questionnaire was mailed to 200 male officers. The survey asked a number of background and general attitudinal questions as well as questions concerning attitudes toward female officers.
Structured Observation	Approximately 200 hours of ride-along were carried out	Using a standard form, observers took detailed notes concerning what happened during 116 incidents of police-citizen interaction.
Official's Interview and Survey	21 supervisors of female officers	All interviews were carried out by the principal investigator. In addition, a questionnaire was left with each respondent to be completed and returned by mail.
Dispatcher Interviews	12 dispatchers	Interviews were carried out with all dispatchers on one shift concerning their dispatch practices.
Female Interviews	40 female officers	A female research associate interviewed every female officer on the force. In addition, each female officer was asked to complete a questionnaire and return it by mail.
Matched Male Interview	39 male officers	A male research associate interviewed a male matched with each female officer. In addition, each matched male was asked to complete a questionnaire and return it by mail.
Partner Interviews	17 male officers	Interviews and questionnaires were given to an additional 17 male officers who had worked extensively with female partners.

NAME OF INSTRUMENT	SAMPLE SIZE	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
Dispatch Records	1 week of dispatch records	Using computerized records of calls for service, males and females were compared on such variables as types of calls, amount of back-up dispatched, etc.
Record Monitoring	40 female officers 39 matched males	Analysis of personnel records, number of arrests made, and department ratings.

CHAPTER 3

PERFORMANCE DATA

As those familiar with research on policing will know, the subject of assessing the performance of a police department or of an individual officer is a very controversial one (Engstad and Lioy, 1980). In the present context, we would like to know if female officers perform their duties as effectively as do male officers. This would be a relatively simple task if there was agreement on the manner in which we would measure the male officers' performance. For example, if it was agreed that an effective police officer was one who made a lot of arrests, then we would simply have to compare the number of arrests made by males and by females in order to assess their relative effectiveness. However, the critic would argue that this comparison might be misleading. Leaving aside methodological problems such as the comparability of assignments between the two groups and the possibility that one or other of the groups will get credit for arrests regardless of who makes them, it can be argued that number of arrests may be a very poor measure of police effectiveness. For example, in a domestic dispute an arrest may be the result of ineffective police performance if it means that the officer has provoked a confrontation with one of the civilians rather than calming him/her down. Further, arrests may be made in situations where they are not justified and where there is little likelihood of a successful prosecution.

Similar problems exist with other performance measures. Departmental ratings of individual officers reflect the attitudes of supervisors rather than directly measuring performance. Looking at records of commendations and complaints gives only a very selective picture of an officer's abilities and disabilities, since it isn't likely that all incidents of outstandingly good or bad performance are brought to the attention of the department. Even structured observation, which looks directly at an officer's behavior, involves a comparison of the performance of females with the standard set by males without questioning whether the behavior of male officers necessarily represents good policing (Sichel, et al; 1978)

While traditional performance measures may not be totally adequate, they are available and will continue to be used until more appropriate measures are available. In this section, we will look at some of the indicators of performance which are kept by the department.

Arrests

Comparison of the number of arrests made by males and females has been made in several of the earlier women in policing studies. Bloch and Anderson (1974) reported that female officers in Washington made fewer arrests and gave fewer traffic citations than did the comparison males. There was no difference in the likelihood of arrests resulting in convictions. One reason for the difference in arrest rates was that women were more often given other assignments and spent less time on

patrol than did the men. However, a significant difference still remained when the analysis was limited to those women who were engaged in regular patrol duties.

In his study of female officers in St. Louis County, Sherman (1975) also found that women made fewer arrests and fewer car stops. However, they gave more traffic citations than did comparison males. An evaluation conducted of the California Highway Patrol (California Highway Patrol, 1976) found that the performance of male and female traffic officers was similar, with men having somewhat higher levels of activity. Males made 13 percent more arrests than females and were involved in 15 percent more total enforcement actions. The evaluators did not feel that this difference was indicative of lower performance levels since supervisors rated women well on activity levels and since when activity levels were looked at while controlling for beat type, many of the women had higher activity levels than men.

In the New York City study conducted by Sichel et al, females had significantly lower rates of arrest than did their male counterparts. However, in this study both females and comparison males normally worked with more experienced male officers and there is some evidence that females were less likely to receive credit for arrests than were the matched males.

Contrary to these studies, research in Denver and in Newton, Massachusetts found that men and women made equal numbers of arrests. In

TABLE 3-1

Average Number of Persons Arrested
By Male and Female Officers *
During July-September, 1979 and March - May, 1980 **

		Males	Females
1979	July	2.25	2.31
	August	2.41	2.0
	September	2.0	2.30
1980	March	2.13	1.82
	April	2.21	1.49
	May	2.71	2.46

* Officers have been excluded who were working in the jail, in communications, in school liason or who were on sick leave or maternity leave for an extended period.

** Arrests relate to criminal charges and do not include Government Liquor Act arrests, Motor Vehicle Act arrests or persons checked.

Denver, the women made as many arrests as men for both dispatcher-initiated and officer-initiated calls. In Newton, it was found that male and female officers made the same average number of arrests per day and filed the same number of charges per day. Women recorded twice as many felony charges per day, while men made twice as many traffic arrests.

The Vancouver arrest data are shown in Table 3-1. These data relate to criminal charges and do not include Government Liquor Act arrests, Motor Vehicle Act arrests, or persons checked. Personnel on extended sick leave or maternity leave have been excluded for the period

of their absence, as have officers assigned to the jail, communications, and school liason. Duties performed by the remaining male and female officers are similar. While males do show a higher level of arrests, the difference is small. Women made more arrests than men for two of the six months and during most other months their performance was close to that of males. Thus the difference in arrest performance does not appear to be substantial.

Supervisor's Evaluations

Performance evaluations have typically rated women lower than men, but the differences have been small. For instance, in Washington the ratings given to women averaged lower than those given to comparison men, but the overall ratings for both groups indicated that nearly all officers were performing at a satisfactory level. Field trainers in the California Highway Patrol gave essentially the same ratings to males and females. This pattern continued following the completion of field training, though males tended to improve over time to a greater extent than did females. In Newton and in St. Louis County, males and females received almost identical ratings.

In the Vancouver Police Department, periodic personnel evaluations are not carried out on all members. The only evaluations available were those which were carried out as part of the final stage of the training program. Since this is a relatively recent program, these evaluations were available on the 22 males and 20 females who had gone

through training most recently. These evaluations show very little difference between males and female officers. The average rating given to females was 72.7 percent and to males was 72.2 percent. Thus according to supervisors, there is little difference in the effectiveness of male and female officers.

Commendations and Complaints

Another indicator of performance which has been used in previous studies is the record of commendations and complaints which an officer has received. Tables 3-2 and 3-3 show that male officers have received more commendations and citizen complaints than have females. While males have received 30 percent more commendations, they have also been responsible for 111 percent more complaints.

TABLE 3-2

Commendations Received by Females and Matched Males

		Males	Females
Number of Commendations	1	10	13
	2	7	6
	3	8	5
	4	4	2
	5	1	1
Total		69	53

TABLE 3-3

Citizen Complaints Received by Females and Matched Males

		Males	Females
Number of Complaints	1	14	10
	2	6	4
	3	1	0
	4	1	0
	5	1	0
Total		38	18

This is generally in accord with previous research, though there have been differences between departments. For example, women in the California Highway Patrol had received fewer complaints than the average of the force as a whole, but more than the group of comparison males.

Sick Leave and Attrition

Time lost due to sickness and to job-related injuries has been studied elsewhere. For instance, in Washington it was found that while women were more likely to be assigned to light duties because of injuries than were men, they did not have a higher absentee rate than men because of these injuries. The California Highway Patrol found that the injury rate during training was higher for females and that the cost per injury was also greater. In both New York City and in Denver it was found that females took more sick time than did males.

This was also the case in Vancouver. During the period July-September 1979, female officers averaged 2.7 days of sick leave (excluding maternity leave) while males averaged 2.0 days. If we exclude 1 female and 1 male who took extended sick leave during this period, the averages drop to 2.2 days for females and .7 days for males.

On the other hand, the number of job-related injuries and the time lost due to these injuries was less for females than for males. The males had received a total of 16 job-related injuries since appointment which were sufficiently serious to be recorded in their personnel files. The average number of days lost due to these injuries was 12.2. For women, the corresponding figures were 13 injuries and an average of 11.6 days lost.

Comparative data on attrition rates were not available, but will be included in the final report. However, senior administrators did not find attrition rates of females to be of concern. Research done elsewhere suggests that while female attrition is a problem in state and federal police forces, it is not a problem in urban departments.

CHAPTER 4

Dispatcher Interview and Dispatch records

Interviews were carried out with twelve dispatchers selected from one shift. The interviews were quite brief, and focused on dispatch practices involving various combinations of male and female officers. Dispatchers were first asked about the usual screening practices involving a call. None of the respondents mentioned that the sex of the officer(s) dispatched was part of this process, though two respondents later indicated that they preferred to send a male/female team to domestic disputes and to calls involving female victims.

The remainder of the questions focused on practices in determining whether back-up should be assigned. Table 1 indicates that the sex of the officer makes little difference in the decision to send back-up. The most relevant variable is whether a one or two-person car is initially dispatched to a call. For one-person cars, the decision to send back-up was identical for officers of both sexes, with the exception of one dispatcher who reported being more likely to send back-up to a female answering a call involving disorderly or drunk persons. The pattern was similar for two-person cars, with a slightly higher likelihood of back-up being dispatched when one man-one woman or two-woman cars were sent to calls involving violence or arguments. When asked if they were more likely to send back-up for certain types of teams of officers, 41.3 percent of the dispatchers said that they were more likely to dispatch a second car when female officers were initially sent to a call involving the possibility of violence.

TABLE 4-1

Percentage of Dispatchers Who Would Send Back-up for Various Types of Calls

(N=12)

	Type of Car				
	1 Man	1 Woman	2 Men	1 Man 1 Woman	2 Women
Disorderly or Drunk Persons	75.0	83.3	0.0	0.0	25.0
Theft, Burglary (in Progress)	100.0	100.0	91.7	91.7	91.7
Sick, Injured or Auto Accident	50.0	50.0	16.7	16.7	16.7
Robbery (in Progress)	91.7	91.7	91.7	91.7	91.7
Public Fights	100.0	100.0	50.0	75.0	83.3
Auto Damage or Theft (in Progress)	83.3	83.3	66.7	75.0	75.0
Argument in or Near Residence (2 Persons)	75.0	75.0	33.3	33.3	41.7

When asked which type of team requested back-up most often, four of the ten dispatchers who responded said that one-man cars were most likely to call for back-up, while none felt that one-woman cars were disproportionately likely to call for assistance. In fact, five of the dispatchers said they felt that women were anxious to prove themselves and seemed to feel that requesting back-up would be interpreted as an

admission that they couldn't handle the call themselves.

The final section of the dispatchers' survey asked about their perceptions of the likelihood of unofficial back-up arriving at calls. The responses indicated that this was a relatively common occurrence, particularly in cases where the assigned officer was alone. They also suggested that the likelihood of such back-up was greater if the officer was female. However, all of those who thought women were more likely to receive unofficial back-up noted that the practice was not as common as it had formerly been. Not surprisingly, unofficial back-up was most often provided for males and females if the call was of a violent nature.

In order to look at actual dispatch practices, computer records of calls dispatched were also analyzed. Since the officers' names were not recorded on the printout, the dispatch records had to be matched with daily duty rosters. Since this was a rather laborious process, data were analyzed only for the period of March 1 - March 7, 1979. Tables 4-2 and 4-3 show the results of this analysis. According to the figures presented in Table 4-2, there is little difference in the seriousness of calls to which the different types of units are assigned. One-woman units are slightly less likely to be assigned to Priority one calls, but are more likely to be sent to Priority two calls than other types of units. The data are consistent with the responses of the dispatchers that sex was not a factor in screening the initial assignment of calls.

TABLE 4-2

Percentage of Priority 1, 2, and 3[1] Calls Assigned to Different Types of Units During March 1-7, 1979.

	Priority 1	Priority 2	Priority 3
1 Woman	11.6 (5)	65.1 (28)	23.2 (10)
1 Man	13.2 (64)	50.1 (243)	36.7 (178)
2 Men	13.5 (107)	50.3 (399)	36.2 (287)
1 Man/ 1 Woman	13.9 (25)	56.1 (101)	30.1 (54)

[1] Priority 1 - Emergency: Serious crime in progress, where prompt response is necessary to prevent further violation, protect life and limb or apprehend the culprit in the act.

Priority 2 - Urgent: Minor offences in progress and/or serious occurrences which have already taken place but immediate attention is required to contribute to a successful conclusion.

Priority 3 - Some Urgency: Occurrences which have already taken place and immediate attention will not contribute to its successful conclusion: Incidents where physical evidence will remain for a reasonable period.

TABLE 4-3

Average Number of Back-up Units Sent to Calls Answered by Different Types of Units During March 1-7, 1979.

	Priority 1	Priority 2	Priority 3
1 Woman	1.60 (5)	1.21 (28)	.20 (10)
1 Man	1.68 (64)	.74 (243)	.22 (178)
2 Men	1.65 (107)	.63 (399)	.27 (287)
1 Man/ 1 Woman	1.24 (25)	.62 (101)	.44 (54)

Table 4-3 also supports the earlier finding that dispatchers did not typically assign back-up according to the sex of the officers initially assigned the call. In fact, the actual practice is more equal than the dispatchers' responses would suggest. For Priority 1 calls, the lowest frequency of back-up was assigned to male-female teams, and was virtually identical for the other three types of units. This may have been due to the fact that an average of 1-1/2 back-up units were assigned to these calls regardless of who initially answered them, and additional cars were not felt to be necessary. The only indication of more back-up being assigned to one-woman cars was for Priority 2 calls where back-up units were more likely to be sent for this type of unit than for the other three.

In sum, while there are some differences in dispatch practices depending on the sex of the assigned officer, these differences are not great. One recommendation can be made on the basis of the data collected from dispatcher interviews and dispatch records. Procedures for assigning back-up should be reviewed to determine if the extra back-up to Priority 2 calls intially dispatched to one woman units is a prevalent one. If this is the case, it should be determined whether or not the additional units dispatched are necessary.

CHAPTER 5

ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE OFFICERS

Attitudes of Male Officers

One of the major problems faced by women police officers is the attitude of their male co-workers. This fact has been noted by many observers, one of whom has stated that "the only trouble with women in policing is men in policing" (Lehtinen, 1976:55). As this quotation suggests, male officers are typically less than enthusiastic about expanding the role of women to include jobs such as general patrol duty. The attitudes of men may in fact be the greatest obstacle facing the move to expand the role of women in policing.

Studies have confirmed the reluctance of male officers to accept female police. In their study of the Washington department, Bloch and Anderson found that policemen did not feel that women were as capable as men of performing patrol duties. They were particularly concerned about the ability of women to handle disorderly males. Since some have suggested that such negative attitudes will be reduced as more of the men have had a chance to see women on the job, it was a bit surprising to note that patrolmen who worked in districts where women were assigned were even more negative toward the women than were men from other districts where there were no women, and that these negative attitudes did not change significantly over a one-year period.[1]

In his study of St. Louis County Police, Sherman (1975) also found that a majority of male officers had negative attitudes toward the females. However, in this study the attitudes of the men became a bit more favorable by the end of the six-month period during which the study was conducted.

The attitudes of male officers were also studied by the California Highway Patrol (1976). All uniformed officers in areas to which women had been assigned were surveyed before women entered the field, and again one year later. The male officers gave the females low ratings on both surveys. Most felt that women could not perform the traffic officer's job nearly as well as males. This feeling was particularly strong for tasks involving danger or the need for physical strength. There was an improvement in attitudes toward female officers during the year in which they were working in the field, but officers who had personal professional contact with the female officers had less favorable attitudes toward female officers than did other males. Male officers also rated the performance of females much less favorably than the performance of males.

Negative attitudes were also expressed by male officers in the Newton Police Department (Kizziah and Morris, 1977). In a survey taken when women were first hired, the male officers were asked to rate the performance of male and female officers on a number of tasks. For almost all of these tasks, the women were rated much lower than were men of equal experience. Women were rated higher only on the

item of questioning a rape victim and were rated about the same as men only for arresting prostitutes and writing reports.

Male attitudes were much the same on a second survey completed over two and one-half years later. While there were some minor changes on individual items, the male officers still did not think that women could perform nearly as well as could males and did not appear to be very supportive of the women in policing program. Subsequent interviews showed that the men felt women were too weak and not aggressive enough to handle patrol work. One important exception to these negative attitudes was the fact that men who had worked closely with female officers were the most positive in their attitudes. Several even expressed the view that there were no differences in the abilities of male and female officers. This suggests that those males who do continue to resist women in policing may be reacting more to their image of what the job is like than to the actual performance of the women, though these positive findings are limited to one department.

Most of the research which has been done on women police in Canada has also shown the prevalence of negative male attitudes. In Whetstone's Alberta survey (1978), the male respondents did not feel that women performed as well as men. Laronde (n.d.) carried out a survey of 30 male and 30 female members of the RCMP, and found that men did not feel that women could carry out all aspects of the police job as well as men. A more recent survey by Hylton et al. (1979) of

members of the Regina Police Department showed a more positive response, with 2/3 of the members saying that it didn't make any difference if they worked with a male or a female.

While the attitudes of male officers have been well-documented, less attention has been paid to the reasons why men dislike the idea of patrolling with women. The literature suggests at least three reasons why women are not accepted. First of all, male officers feel that the image of the police profession will suffer as a result of hiring females. Laronde found this to be a major source of dissatisfaction among the RCMP officers he surveyed. 38 percent of the males in his sample felt that public esteem for the Force had suffered because of the hiring of women. This view is illustrated by a patrolman interviewed by Milton who complained that "the job has already too much of a social worker image; it's a man's job; let's not degrade it by adding more women" (1972:24). Sherman (1975) also found that many of the men felt that the public would simply not accept women patrol officers. This view is contradicted by citizen surveys discussed elsewhere (Linden and Minch, 1980) which show that the attitudes of the public and the image of the police are not harmed by the employment of larger numbers of women. In fact, there is some evidence that contact with female officers leads to a <u>more</u> favorable attitude toward the police.

A second reason is the feeling that women are not committed to policing as a career. It is felt that women will only stay on the job until they find a husband and have children. Because of this it is felt

that women will not have the same commitment to doing a good job as will males. Laronde's study indicated that his respondents share this view. 62 percent of his male respondents felt that women viewed the RCMP as a temporary or short-term situation rather than as a long-term career.

A third major reason for opposing the integration of women into patrol duties is the fear that women will not be able to cope with the violence which is believed to be an important part of police work. The abilities of female officers in this area have been met with a good deal of skepticism, and this has been a major factor in limiting or refusing women the chance to perform general patrol duties. For instance, Conrad and Glorioso (1975) studied a group of Maryland State Police who expressed concern that women would not be able to defend themselves and that male officers would have to worry about protecting them. In a study of recruits at the Michigan State Police Training Academy it was found that male recruits were relatively supportive of the academic and technical abilities of female officers, but felt that female officers couldn't perform the physical aspects of the job as well as their male counterparts (Charles, 1978).

Attitudes of Vancouver Police Officers

The Vancouver data also show that a substantial proportion of male officers does not look favorably upon female officers, and particularly object to women being assigned to general patrol duties. The attitude of many male officers can be summed up in the comment of one respondent—"Eliminate females!" In the analysis of police attitudes toward female officers, data will be presented from four surveys: the mail questionnaire which was sent to 200 randomly selected male constables; the interviews and questionnaires given to all female members; the interviews and questionnaires given to the matched males; and interviews and questionnaires given to a group of seventeen male officers who had extensive experience working with female officers. In addition, some material from the supervisors' questionnaire will also be presented.

TABLE 5-1

Do you think it is a good idea to have women as a regular part of the patrol force?

	Yes	Undecided	No
Male Survey	50.0	18.5	31.5
Matched Males	47.4	18.4	34.2
Females	100.0	0	0
Partners of Females	82.4	5.9	11.8

The attitudes of the officers surveyed are shown in Table 5-1. The attitudes of the matched males toward having women performing general patrol duties are almost identical to those of the men surveyed in the mail questionnaire and illustrate the degree of dissatisfaction with the policy of assigning women to patrol duties. On the other hand, the attitudes of those males who have had experience working with female partners are much more positive and are nearly as favourable as those of the female officers themselves.[2] While all the tables will not be shown here, the same pattern is true of a number of other measures of atitudes toward female officers. These questions include items dealing with perception of community attitudes toward women on patrol; assessment of the percentage of males and females who are highly motivated toward their work; reaction of spouse to the possibility of working with a partner of the opposite sex; the effect that increasing the percentage of female officers to 50 percent would have on the job and on the image of the police force; and a series of questions dealing with the respondents' perceptions of the likely outcome of several scenarios involving male/female teams answering potentially dangerous calls. For all of these questions, the attitudes of the males who had worked with females were either as favorable as those of the women themselvs or between the responses of the females and the two other groups of male officers.

Another question which displayed the same pattern was one which asked if the respondent preferred a male or female patrol partner. The responses here are interesting because they indicate that all officers,

including females, preferred a male partner. The group that was the most positive toward working with a female partner was the men who had had the most experience working with females. They were more likely than the women themselves to desire (or at least not to object to) assignment with a female partner. The responses of the women on this item was quite close to that of the male partners, and both were considerably more positive than the two other groups of male officers. The reasons advanced by females as to why they preferred to work with male partners were of interest. The most typical response had nothing to do with the perceived abilities of other females, but rather indicated that women thought a male/female team offered an additional dimension in which the different strengths of the two sexes produced a combination which could do police work very effectively. The responses of some of the males supported this view. A number of the males commented that male/female teams got more work done because they wasted less time socializing, and were more effective in handling a broad range of calls.

Two other sets of measures of attitudes toward female officers are shown in Tables 5-2 and 5-3. The first of these sets of questions asked each group of respondents to estimate what percentage of male and female officers with two years' experience on the force would be able to handle each situation satisfactorily. Looking first of all at the ratings given to male officers, there is a high degree of consistency among the five groups of raters. The lowest ratings are most often given by supervisors and the highest by the matched males, but the difference between all raters (including the females) is quite small. There is a

great deal more inconsistency in the ratings of female officers. Not surprisingly, the women rated themselves the most positively. In fact, they rated themselves as performing as well or better than the men on eight of the eleven tasks. On average, they rated females five percent higher than they did males. Among the men, the sample of officers who were experienced in working with females had by far the most positive attitude toward their performance. They rated the women as well or better than the men on five of the tasks, and on four of the remaining six they rated the women more favorably than did the other three groups of men. On average, they rated men about two percent higher than women. Looking at the average differences in ratings for males and females for each item, the next most positive group were the supervisors (average difference of five percent in favor of males) followed by the respondents to the mail survey and finally the matched males, with an average difference of six percent and seven percent respectively. Overall, women were rated as performing three of the tasks better than males: questioning a rape victim; writing reports; and settling family disputes. On five of the tasks, the ratings favored males, but the differences between the sexes was relatively small: dispersing noisy juveniles; handling traffic accidents; cruising around observing; handling disorderly females; and getting information at crime scenes. There were substantial differences in ratings for the final three tasks: handling a down and out drunk; handling disorderly males; and handling threatening situations. These last three are all situations involving strength or the possible need for the use of force, and it is in these areas that males are most often critical of females.

TABLE 5-2

PERCENT[a] OF OFFICERS WITH TWO YEARS' EXPERIENCE BELIEVED "SATISFACTORY" AT PATROL SKILLS

SKILL	SEX OF OFFICERS	GROUP GIVING RATING				
		Supervisors (N = 16)	Matched Females (N = 39)	Matched Males (N = 38)	Male Survey (N = 130)	Male Partners (N = 17)
Dispersing Noisy Juveniles	Women	56	75	69	66	71
	Men	66	74	79	77	71
Handling a Down and Out Drunk	Women	58	77	57	61	58
	Men	89	87	90	91	84
Handling Disorderly Males	Women	45	69	46	50	55
	Men	69	72	75	76	77
Handling Traffic Accidents	Women	75	84	82	79	77
	Men	80	85	84	83	82
Questioning a Rape Victim	Women	73	80	75	80	81
	Men	50	56	57	57	53
Cruising Around and Observing	Women	66	79	75	75	71
	Men	77	77	76	79	71
Handling Threatening Situations	Women	44	64	47	50	56
	Men	64	64	67	66	62
Handling Disorderly Females	Women	63	67	60	65	65
	Men	68	63	71	70	66
Writing Reports	Women	81	84	81	81	82
	Men	68	67	73	73	74
Settling Family Disputes	Women	70	74	64	68	73
	Men	54	60	65	65	63
Getting Information at Crime cenes	Women	63	79	75	71	73
	Men	64	72	72	71	67

[a] The percent of officers rated "Satisfactory" was indicated on the questionnaire by placing a mark on a line labelled 0% at the left end, 50% in the middle, and 100% on the right end. Answers were coded into eleven categories (0-10) and average scores were computed into equivalent percents.

TABLE 5-3

PERCENT OF OFFICERS WITH TWO YEARS' EXPERIENCE SEEN AS HAVING SELECTED WORK-RELATED TRAITS

TRAIT	SEX OF OFFICERS	GROUP GIVING RATING				
		Supervisors (N = 16)	Matched Females (N = 39)	Matched Males (N = 38)	Male Survey (N = 130)	Male Partners (N = 17)
Practical Intelligence	Women	56	76	65	61	62
	Men	74	75	73	73	70
Integrity	Women	76	83	78	73	78
	Men	77	79	76	79	74
Problem Confrontation	Women	50	74	49	52	51
	Men	79	77	75	77	71
Tolerance of Stress	Women	51	80	61	55	61
	Men	76	71	74	74	68
Ability to Learn	Women	80	85	79	79	78
	Men	74	79	76	79	75
Initiative	Women	54	72	54	58	60
	Men	74	77	70	74	69
Job Knowledge	Women	76	79	73	70	69
	Men	74	76	75	75	73
Decisiveness	Women	54	78	57	59	62
	Men	78	76	74	75	71
Observational Skills	Women	69	80	73	71	70
	Men	76	75	76	76	74
Communication Skills	Women	78	84	78	75	76
	Men	70	73	74	74	68
Interpersonal Sensitivity	Women	73	82	75	72	74
	Men	60	66	64	67	65
Adherence to Authority	Women	77	81	78	75	76
	Men	67	69	69	70	68
Personal Impact	Women	56	76	54	59	63
	Men	73	75	72	74	73
Independence	Women	59	82	59	60	61
	Men	73	76	72	75	74
Physically Strong	Women	34	55	27	33	36
	Men	81	81	78	81	79

Table 5-3 shows the result of another set of measures of the respondents' views of the abilities of female officers. In this question, respondents were asked to estimate what percent of male and female officers with two years of experience have each of a number of traits. The traits listed were those which were assessed by a job analysis report done for the B.C. Police Commission as being relevant to the police constable's role. An additional item, physical strength, which was not included in the job analysis, was added to the questionnaire. For these items, once again there is a very high degree of consistency in the rating of males. For many of the items, the responses given by the different groups of raters is virtually identical. However, there is less consensus concerning the assessment of female officers. The females rate themselves more highly than they do the males (an average of three percent higher) and put themselves first on twelve of fifteen dimensions. Once again, the males who have worked with females are the next most positive, with an average of six percent difference in favor of males. They rated the females first on five of the fifteen dimensions. These two groups of raters are followed in order by the matched males (an average of nine percent difference favoring males) and then by the supervisors and respondents to the mail survey (both eleven percent in favor of males). Women were rated most highly compared to men on the dimensions of integrity, ability to learn, job knowledge, communication skills, interpersonal sensitivity, and adherence to authority, while men's ratings exceed those of the females by the greatest amount on physical strength, problem confrontation, personal impact, independence, decisiveness, and initiative.

To summarize, the results of the Vancouver research as well as research carried out in the U.S. indicates that the attitudes of male officers toward the policy of assigning women to patrol duties are somewhat negative. In the interviews which we carried out with the matched males it was found that many of the men would like to see the role of women limited to membership in a women's squad which would handle only those calls that have traditionally been viewed as appropriate for females; i.e., juveniles, questioning rape victims, searching females, etc.

Besides the women themselves, the group which had the most favorable attitudes concerning the ability to of women to carry out patrol duties was the group of men who had worked extensively with female officers. In some cases, these males had worked as partners with a female officer for as long as two years. The fact that this group has a relatively positive attitude toward the capabilities of female officers is important, since they are the ones who are the most familiar with the work done by the women. Further, as will be noted in a subsequent chapter, supervisors also express quite favorable attitudes toward females, though this was not really apparent in Table 5-2 and 5-3. The responses of these two groups, who are in the best position to assess the performance of the females, suggest that to some extent at least, the negative attitudes expressed by the other male officers may not be the result of an objective assessment of the performance and capabilities of female officers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bloch and Anderson do not specify whether or not any of the male respondents surveyed from experimental districts had actually worked with women.

2. An alternate explanation of the more positive attitude of the experienced males is that they were selected to work with females because their attitudes were more liberal than those of the average police officer. While we cannot rule this out entirely, comparison of the two groups makes this alternate hypothesis unlikely. Compared with the group of matched males, the males who had worked extensively with females were older (average age of 32 vs. 28); more experienced (8 years service vs. 4); and had less formal education. Their attitudes toward the job and their level of job satisfaction are almost identical with that of the matched males. Their responses to questions relating to the role of the police suggest that they are if anything more conservative than the matched males, and the two groups scored almost identically on a questions measuring the desirability of police work becoming more social service oriented. Further, their favorable attitudes toward female police officers do not reflect more liberal attitudes toward women in general, since their responses to two questions dealing with the issue of equal rights are the same as those of the matched males.

CHAPTER 6

SURVEY OF MATCHED MALES AND FEMALES

A major part of this research involved an interview and mail questionnaire study of all female police officers in the department. Each of these females was matched with a male officer who went through training at about the same time as the female and who ranked at about the same level at graduation from the Academy. Each female and matched male was interviewed by an interviewer of the same sex as the respondent. Following the interview, which typically lasted an hour, the officer was given a questionnaire which was to be completed and mailed back to the researchers.

There were a number of differences between the two groups in terms of some of the demographic variables which were studied. As would be expected, female officers were shorter and lighter than males. The average height and weight of the females was 5'6" and 133 pounds, while the males averaged 5'11" and 180 pounds. Sixty eight percent of the males were married, compared with 26 percent of the females. The average ages were almost the same. Female officers came from a slightly higher social class level and were more likely to have attended or completed university. The women had worked at a greater number of previous jobs before applying for the police department.

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Job Satisfaction

The study used a large number of different measures of job satisfaction and on nearly every indicator female officers reported being more satisfied than males. While these items are too numerous to discuss in detail, a few examples will be presented. Females are slightly more likely to feel that police work gives them the chance to do what they do best, that the job has lived up to their expectations, and that if they were to choose careers again they would still decide to become police officers. Table 6-1 provides another indication of the higher level of job satisfaction of females as more of them report that they like the job very much. When asked to give reasons why they liked the job, women and men generally gave similar answers. The most frequent responses were independence and public contact. Men were more likely to mention job security and the satisfaction of belonging to a group with which they identify, while women were more likely to cite shift work and public contact as desirable features of the job. The differences in seeing job security and shift work as advantages likely reflect the fact that a much higher proportion of the men are married and are concerned with long-term security and with the impact that shift work has on their family life. There was even a greater similarity in responses to a question asking what they disliked about policing. The most common responses were the unpleasant duties that are part of the job, the restrictions on one's social life, and negative feelings toward superiors. These responses were fairly evenly distributed among males and females. The only difference of any substance between the two groups was that some of the females expressed dissatisfaction with negative attitudes displayed toward female officers by their co-workers and by members of the public.

TABLE 6-1

Degree to Which Male and Female Officers Enjoy Police work (in Percent)

	Like it Very Much	Like it Fairly Well	Indifferent	Don't Like Very Much	Don't Like At All
Males	65.8 (25)	31.6 (12)	2.6 (1)	0	0
Females	82.1 (32)	15.4 (6)	2.6 (1)	0	0

The higher degree of job satisfaction expressed by females is also reflected in their responses to a question asking about their morale. While the difference is not statistically significant, the women do report having higher morale. One clue to why this might be the case can be found in a later question which asked how satisfied respondents were with their salaries. Sixty nine percent of the females compared with only 39 percent of the males report being very well or fairly well satisfied with their salaries. This may reflect the comparative earning power of men and women in other jobs.

TABLE 6-2

Self-Rating of Morale by Male and Female Officers (in Percent)

	Extremely Low	Low	Satisfactory	High	Extremely High
Males	0.0	10.5 (4)	36.8 (14)	50.0 (19)	2.6 (1)
Females	0.0	2.6 (1)	41.0 (16)	48.7 (19)	7.7 (3)

One area in which women are not as content is that of obtaining recognition for their accomplishments. While several questions relate to this, the point is made in Table 6-3 which shows the responses to a question asking which sex had to work harder to gain recognition in the department. The Table shows that 62.5 percent of the women (and 18.9 percent of the men) feel that women have to work harder than men do in order to get credit for their work. As one of the respondents said "You really have to do something spectacular before you can get any recognition around here". A major reason for this dissatisfaction centred around what some of the respondents (both male and female) felt was lack of promotional opportunities for qualified women. This issue was also raised by a number of the supervisors, who cited one case in particular of a woman they felt should have been promoted. While we did not look specifically at individual promotional decisions, this is one area where there is at least the perception of administrative bias against females.

TABLE 6-3

Responses of Male and Female Officers to Question of Whether Male or Females Have to Work Harder to Get Recognition

		Who Must Work Harder		
		Males	Females	Both the Same
Sex of Respondent	Male	24.3 (9)	18.9 (7)	56.8 (21)
	Female	2.5 (1)	62.5 (25)	35.0 (14)

Career Commitment

In this study, as well as in previous research one objection to female officers by those who oppose their hiring has been that they are not committed to a career in policing and have only joined the force to get a husband. The data we have collected suggest that this is not the case, and that there are only slight differences in the degree to which males and females are committed to a career in policing. First of all, while a number of females have married male officers, the fact that urban departments have not had difficulty retaining female officers suggests that this is not a problem. However, long-term attrition data are needed in order to bring closure on this particular objection. With regard to commitment in general, respondents were asked if they expected to be police officers ten years from now. 94.4 percent of the men and 85.7 percent of the women replied that they intended to stay in police work that long. The main reason the males mentioned for staying in the job was the security, while for women it was the satisfaction of the job and their commitment to the job. Respondents were also asked if they would keep working if they suddenly inherited enough money to live comfortably. A higher proportion of women said they would keep working (87.2 percent vs. 76.3 percent), and of those 97 percent of the females and 84.6 percent of the males said they would remain with the police department. Again, while the final test of women's commitment to policing willbe long-term attrition rates, the data suggest that women are as committed to police work as are men.

Two questions concerning aspirations and the importance of promotion also indicate that women are committed to police work as a career. Despite the fact that very few women have achieved senior rank in any department, which means that female officers have very few role models, their promotional aspirations were high. While not as many women as men sought senior ranks, such as Staff Sergeant and Inspector, a higher proportion aspired to the ranks of Detective and Sergeant. Further, women were almost as likely as men to report that the possibility of being promoted was important to them (78.3 percent vs. 61.6 percent).

Style of Policing

While many people, particularly police officers, have been critical of the trend toward expanding the role of the female police, other observers have welcomed such a move. They have suggested that women will bring a new dimension to policing. Women are assumed to be less aggressive and "more likely to rely on their tact and ingenuity in confrontations. They can cool, defuse, and de-escalate many heated situations" (Bouza, 1975:7). Some, like Sherman (1973), feel that this will have a profound impact on police departments. He suggests that women will precipitate less violence because their pattern of interaction with citizens will be different from that of male officers. This reduction in the amount of violence involving the police will, in turn, improve the image the public has of the police. Sherman suggests that men will learn that they can accomplish their goals more

effectively by reducing the amount of violence which they use, and that this will lead to a change in the style of policing used by men.

The hope, then, is that the assignment of women to patrol duties will alter the image of the 'tough cop' and make the image more of a social service one. Not everyone sees this as a positive step. For instance, many male officers feel that this represents a degradation of the traditionally masculine image of policing which they feel is necessary if they are to be effective. The question of which style is better is still an open one, but we can look at the available evidence to see if the style of policing adopted by women is different from that used by men.

The Washington study was the first to look at differences in styles of policing. On the whole, the similarities between men and women in this study were more apparent that the differences. For example, the women got about the same results when handling angry or violent citizens as did the males. Also, both groups showed similar levels of respect and similar general attitudes toward civilians. The major difference between the two groups was that women were less likely to make arrests and to give traffic citations. While there were too few violent incidents involving officers of either sex to make any firm conclusions, Bloch and Anderson do suggest that increasing the number of women in a department may change its style of policing. They conclude that "The presence of women may stimulate increased attention to ways of avoiding violence and cooling violent situations without resorting to the use of force" (1974:4).

The second study which dealt with this issue was Sherman's research on St. Louis County police. As was the case with the Washington study, no firm conclusions could be drawn about how females would deal with violence because of the scarcity of such incidents. However, Sherman felt that women may be more effective in reducing violence because of their ability to prevent potentially threatening situations from escalating. Some further support for this was found in the New York study conducted by the Urban Institute. In this study it was found that while officers of both sexes began encounters with civilians in a similar fashion, the men were more likely to become aggressive during the course of the encounter than were the women, who were more likely to adopt a cordial manner. During these encounters, civilians tended to act in a friendlier fashion toward the female officers (reported in Sichel, et al., 1978). On the other hand, the Denver researchers found no difference in the effect which male and female officers had on the attitudes of either spectators or the citizens involved in observed incidents, nor on the levels of violence and tension at an incident.

Because of the large number of incidents which their research team was able to observe, Sichel and her colleagues have provided us with the best data available on this issue. In contrast to the studies discussed earlier, their research did "not support the proposition that female officers are more likely than male officers to be a calming influence of distraught citizens" (1978:43), although they did find

that citizens felt the women were more competent, respectful and pleasant than the males. As noted earlier, the control-seeking techniques used by males and females were almost identical, and no differences were observed in the likelihood of using physical contact to gain control of a situation. While the women were less likely to make arrests and to seek control, these differences were not great enough to suggest that significant differences in policing style would result from the employment of more female officers.

As will be reported in Chapter 8, in the observational study carried out in Vancouver it was found that there were few differences in the manner in which males and females handled calls, though females received a slightly more favorable reaction from the public and had a more positive effect on the public. We can also examine the survey data to look at the perceptions of male and female officers concerning their styles of policing. When asked if the two sexes have different styles of policing two-thirds of the men and only one-third of the women replied that they thought styles were different. Apparently most females feel that they perform their work in the same fashion as males. The officers who felt that styles were different generally responded that men were more agressive, decisive, and physical while women were more patient and communicated more effectively with the public.

In a related question, respondents were also asked if they felt that either males or females were particularly good at handling certain types of calls. 56.4 percent of the males and 41.0 percent of the females felt that women were particularly good at some types of

calls. The most common types of calls at which women were felt to be better were those traditionally associated with female officers; dealing with victims of sex offences and with juveniles, and family disputes, although a small number of males and females felt that women were good at handling physical calls. 64.1 percent of the males and 40 percent of the females felt that male officers were particularly good at some types of calls. As would be expected, most of the respondents felt that men were best at dealing with calls requiring the use of strength or force.

Another aspect of style of policing which was included in the survey was that of the officers' perceptions of who typically took charge when a male/female team was answering a call. 34.2 percent of the men and only 7.5 percent of the women felt that male officers usually took charge while the remainder felt that both sexes took charge equally, depending on the division of labor that had been worked out between the partners.

Finally, the females and matched males were asked a number of attitudinal questions concerning police work. The assumption that women would prefer more of a social service orientation in police work was tested by asking respondents if they felt that police work should have more of a law enforcement orientation or more of a social service orientation than it does now. The differences between male and female officers, which are shown in Table 6-4, are in the predicted direction, but are very small. For the most part, men and women seem to feel the same about the appropriate emphasis for police work. This is supported by a

number of other attitudinal questions. While the results will not be discussed here in detail, women officers were as likely as their male peers to agree with statements concerning the need to use force to maintain respect for the police, that the majority of the public is hostile toward the police, that criminals need stronger punishment, that the legal system is untrustworthy, and so on.

TABLE 6-4

Response of Male and Female Officers to a Question Concerning the Appropriate Orientation for a Police Department

	More Social Service - Oriented	About Right At This Time	More Law Enforcement - Oriented
Males	0.0	63.2 (24)	36.8 (14)
Females	2.6 (1)	71.7 (28)	25.6 (10)

Neither the observational nor the survey research lend much support to the view that women and men approach police work in a markedly different fashion. This should not really be surprising because, even if women do bring different characteristics to the job (which may or may not be the case), they must work in a system which is completely run by males. They are trained by males, work almost exclusively with males, and are assessed by males. Female officers are all well aware of their minority status and the majority feel they must keep a low profile and

not try to fight the system. As one respondent noted "Men are the role models around here, and we have to do things their way". This is not to suggest that women are only behaving like the men because they feel they have to. The attitudinal items suggest that they perform in the same fashion as men because they feel that is the way police work should be done.

CHAPTER 7

ATTITUDES OF SUPERVISORS

Generally, the attitudes of supervisors toward female officers have been more favorable than the attitudes of the rank and file. This is reflected in the relatively favorable performance assessments which women have received in most of the departments studied. The attitudes of supervisors were most thoroughly studied by Bloch and Anderson. Police officials in Washington, D.C. were more likely than patrolmen to feel that women were as effective as men on patrol duties, though there was agreement with the male officers that women could not deal as well with violent situations. Further, while the attitudes of patrolmen toward patrolwomen did not change over the course of the research, the attitudes of police officials did become more favorable over time.

In the Vancouver study, all of the supervisors who had female officers working for them were interviewed. These interviews were done with 19 Sergeants and 2 Inspectors. In addition, each of these supervisors was given a questionnaire which was to be completed and returned by mail. 16 of 21 questionnaires were returned, giving a response rate of 76 percent.

Abilities of Female Officers

Generally, the responses of supervisors were positive. Three sets of questions on the interview looked at the supervisors' overall

assessment of female officers. Respondents were asked how they initially expected women to perform when they were assigned to patrol duties and were also asked how their actual performance had been. The data in Table 7-1 shows that the initial expectations were fairly low. Only twenty percent felt that the women would perform well, while another thirty-five percent had mixed feelings about the policy. Their assessment of how the women had performed was somewhat more positive (Table 7-2). Sixty-one percent judged the womens' performance as good or very good, while only one of the supervisors said they had done poorly. Further indication of their positive views toward female officers can be found in Tables 7-3 and 7-4. Table 7-3 shows that seventy-one percent feel that it is a good idea to have women performing patrol duties, with fourteen percent neutral and fourteen percent negative toward the assignment of women to patrol duties. In Table 7-4 responses to the question of whether or not they would like to have more female officers working for them are shown. Nineteen percent would not want to have more females working for them while the remaining eighty-one percent would like to have more women under their supervision. Nineteen percent said they would be willing to have a team that was made up of fifty percent or more females. Several of these team leaders said that they would welcome the challenge of working with an all-female team and felt that the results would surprise many people who weren't aware of the capabilities of female officers.

TABLE 7-1

Supervisors' Initial Expectations Concerning the Performance of Women Assigned to Patrol Duties
(In Percent)

Favorable	Mixed or Neutral	Unfavorable
20.0	35.0	45.0
(4)	(7)	(9)

TABLE 7-2

Supervisor Assessments of the Performance of Women Assigned to Patrol Duties
(In Percent)

Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor
22.2	38.9	33.3	5.6
(4)	(7)	(6)	(1)

TABLE 7-3

Supervisors' Response to Question of Whether or Not They Feel it is a Good Idea to have Women as a Regular Part of the Patrol Force

(In Percent)

Yes	Neutral	No
71.4 (15)	14.3 (3)	14.3 (3)

TABLE 7-4

Supervisors' Response to Question of Whether or Not They Would Like to Have More Female Officers Working for them

(In Percent)

No	Up to 10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	50%	No Limit	More (Percent Not Specified)
19.0 (4)	28.6 (6)	9.5 (2)	4.8 (1)	9.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	4.8 (1)	14.3 (3)	9.5 (2)

As a final indication of the supervisors' overall evaluation of female officers, each was asked to list the qualities that they felt a good police officer must have[1] and then was asked to assess the extent to which these qualities were met by male and female officers. Responses to this question are shown in Table 7-5. One-third of those responding felt that females possessed these qualities to a greater extent than males, while a slightly smaller percentage (28 percent) felt that males surpassed females.

The evidence, then, suggests that most of those who supervise female officers have a relatively favorable opinion of their work. Supervisors rate the womens' performance as having been satisfactory despite some initial pessimism about their ability to handle patrol duties; supervisors feel that having women doing general patrol is a good idea; most would be willing to have additional women assigned to them; and women officers are seen to posess the qualities that are necessary to be an effective patrol officer.

TABLE 7-5

Supervisors' Assessment of the Extent to which Male and Female Officers Possess the Qualties of a Good Police Officer

(In Percent)

Females Possess Qualities to a Greater Extent than Males	Males and Females Possess Qualities to Same Extent	Males Possess Qualities to a Greater Extent than Males
33.3 (6)	38.9 (7)	27.8 (5)

Supervisory Problems

Despite the apparent acceptance of female patrol officers by supervisors, the literature leaves little doubt that the increased number of women in police ranks has created some problems. For example, many male supervisors have had little experience with women subordinates and do not feel comfortable working with them. As a result, the literature reflects an uncertainty as to how to deal with women. Some supervisors have been accused of favoring women, or of allowing women to manipulate them. On the other hand, there has been ample documentation that supervisors have often discriminated against women, particularly with regard to the type of assignments given.

Several questions were asked to see if supervisors felt that the deployment of females to patrol duties had created problems for them. First of all, they were asked if they needed to use different supervisory styles for male and female officers. The results, which are shown in Table 7-6, indicate that most did not feel it necessary to use different supervisory styles with females. The differences which did exist typically involved dissimilarities in assigning calls, in assigning partners, and in assigning cars (several said that they never assigned women to single-person units). The only other major area of difference arose from respondents who felt that they had to be more tactful with females, since women were more emotional and couldn't take as much criticism.

TABLE 7-6

Supervisors' Responses to Questions Concerning the Necessity of Using Different Styles of Supervising Males and Females

(In Percent)

Yes	Usually the Same	No
19.0 (4)	33.4 (7)	47.6 (10)

Several of the respondents who said they treated men and women identically were critical of some of their colleagues. They felt that some supervisors had problems working with female officers because they didn't supervise them effectively. One respondent, who had supervised a relatively large number of female officers, said he had been assigned several females who were on informal probation because they had not been doing an adequate job on other teams. He felt that their poor performance had been due to the fact that they had never been given a chance to show what they could do. For example, they had never been assigned to regular partners and hadn't been taken too seriously by their sergeants. He said that all of these female officers had performed satisfactorily after being transferred to his team.

TABLE 7-7

Supervisors' Responses to Question of Whether Men or Women Gave them the Most Supervisory Problems

(In Percent)

Men More Problems	Women More Problems	Neither More Problems
36.8 (7)	10.5 (2)	52.6 (10)

Respondents were also asked whether men or women gave them more problems. The results of this question are shown in Table 7-7. While the majority felt that neither sex caused them more difficulties, 37 percent reported that men caused more problems and only 11 percent reported that women caused more problems. Those who had the most trouble with male officers said that the maintenance of standards gave them the most difficulty. Men had problems with dress and deportment, being on time for work, and other disciplinary matters. The problem most often mentioned concerning female officers was that there were problems in assigning them partners.

FOOTNOTES

1. Twenty-eight different qualities were suggested. Listed in order, those most commonly mentioned were: practical intelligence; worldliness or experience; ability to learn; interpersonal sensitivity; physical abilities; integrity; maturity; broadmindedness or tolerance; and patience.

CHAPTER 8

FIELD OBSERVATION

Because of financial and time constraints, a field observation component was not planned as part of this study. However, as we began out data collection we decided that we needed to do some rather extensive ride-along in order to get a better view of the operation of the two forces we were studying, and particularly to get some first-hand experience with female police officers. It was decided that we would also use this opportunity to try to systematically collect some observational data concerning the manner in which male and female officers performed their duties. Working in the evenings and on weekends, we did approximately 200 hours of ride-along with the Vancouver Police Department and observed 116 incidents involving interaction between police and citizens.

In this section, the results of the observational research will be discussed. However, one must use caution in the weight which is given to these findings. First of all, the amount of observation was quite limited. While 200 hours may seem like a long time, the relatively small number of incidents per hour and the tremendous variety of those incidents mean that insufficient numbers of most types of occurrences are available for comparative analysis. For instance, the most extensive observational study ever done with female police officers was carried out in New York City by Sichel et al. (1978). The researchers

had initially planned to look at the performance of males and females in violent or potentially violent situations, since this is the aspect of policing in which women are judged most negatively by male officers. Despite the fact that they carried out 3625 hours of ride-along, they did not observe a sufficient number of incidents of this nature to do an adequate analysis.

Another problem relates to the fact that our selection of officers with whom to ride was not done systematically. Since the observation had a lower priority than our other data collection work, it had to be fit into any spare hours we had available. We were not able to observe all female officers, nor could we match males and females in terms of district, experience, etc. It is not likely, however, that our sample of observed officers was deliberately biased by such things as being assigned only to the best (or worst) officers. Particularly with females or male-female teams, we often rode with the only female officer on duty in the district at the time.

Finally, an observational study requires careful training and supervision of observers in order to ensure that the data are complete and that different observers are recording their data in the same way. For example, in the study of women in the Philadelphia Police Department conducted by Bartell Associates (n.d.), two weeks were spent training observers. Because of other data collection tasks, this type of training and careful monitoring of data quality could not be done in the present study.

Given these weaknesses, the question might be raised as to why report on the observational phase of the research at all. The major reason is that if the limitations are recognized, 200 hours of observation gives a substantial amount of information concerning the performance of female officers. Further, we can have more confidence in the findings if they are consistent with previous research and with the findings from other parts of the present study.

Previous Research

The first major study of female officers was done in Washington D.C. by Bloch and Anderson (1974). As part of this study, observers accompanied male and female officers on 193 complete tours of duty. They found that women and men performed patrol work in the same manner. The situations they handled were comparable and both sexes handled difficult calls involving violent or angry citizens equally well. No critical incidents were observed or reported which were handled in such a manner as to suggest that women couldn't cope with the demands of patrol work. Women were as likely as men to "take charge" in an incident, and back-up was more often sent to single or two-men units than to units with a single man or with a male/female team.

In one of the most thorough evaluations available of women in policing, Sichel and her colleagues compared the patrol performance of 41 female officers on the New York City Police Department with the performance of a matched group of 41 male officers. Matching was carried

out by length of time on the force, patrol experience, and type of precinct. The principal method used in the study was observation by police and civilian personnel. During the course of this study, there was direct observation of 3625 hours of patrol during which 2400 police-civilian encounters were recorded. Also, the researchers interviewed a number of civilians who were involved in incidents not observed by the research team.

As mentioned above, the researchers initially planned to look at the performance of males and females in violent or potentially violent situations. For a number of reasons, among them the rare nature of such incidents, they decided to focus instead on control-seeking behavior by officers in police-civilian encounters.

The major finding of the study was the that the performance of male and female officers was similar. Contrary to expectations, both sexes used the same style of patrol. The same control-seeking techniques were used and both sexes were equally likely to use force, to display a weapon, or to give a direct order to a civilian. There were some differences, but these were small. Females were found to be less assertive and less likely to engage in control-seeking behavior. They were less likely to be recorded as arresting officers and were less involved in strenuous activity. They also took more sick time. However, females were rated as being more competent and more respectful by citizens who had been involved in encounters with the police. Further, those citizens who had had contact with female officers had more positive attitudes toward the Police Department in general than did those

who had contact with male officers. These differences in citizen satisfaction were somewhat unexpected, since the observational data had indicated that there were few differences in what the officers did on a call. Males and females were equally likely to engage in "service" types of activities. The researchers suggest that the more favorable attitudes toward females may have been due either to the fact that females were more likely to offer comfort or sympathy to civilians or to the fact that they were less likely than males to try to seek control on calls.

The final study to be discussed here[1] is the Philadelphia study. The major part of the study consisted of extensive observation conducted by carefully trained observers. Subjects consisted of 100 male and 100 female officers who were hired and trained at the same time and who were assigned to the same police districts. The observers were asked to rate the performance of the females and comparison males on behaviorally-anchored rating scales of seventeen different critical incidents. Each evaluator reviewed each recruit at least once and usually twice over the nine-month observational period. A total of over 3,000 incidents were observed and rated by the evaluators. The results of this observational study are summarized as follows: "It is therefore concluded that, as rated by male evaluators, there is no difference in the performance of male and female recruits; and, as rated by female evaluators, there is no difference in performance on eight of the incidents while females perform better on three of the incidents and males

perform better on one incident" (1978:114). The researchers also compared mean rating values for males and females across all 17 incidents and found no difference for ratings of male evaluators while female evaluators rated female recruits significantly higher than male recruits.

Vancouver Results

Observation was carried out in all four districts in Vancouver. The number of police-citizen contracts observed in each district was as follows:

District	Number of Incidents
District 1	43
District 2	38
District 3	18
District 4	17

To minimize the effects of a second officer on the behavior of the officer being observed, we did most of our ride-along in one-man or one-woman units. The number of incidents observed in each type of unit was:

Type of Unit	Number of Incidents
one - man	34
one - woman	57
male/female	12
male/male	13

Type of Incidents

One of the findings of the Washington study was that women were somewhat less aggressive than men in carrying out such duties as making officer-initiated car stops (Bloch and Anderson, 1974). Table 8-1 shows the percentage of officer-initiated incidents in each type of unit. While the number of incidents for two-person cars is too small to be useful, we can look at the comparison between one-man and one-woman cars. The proportion of incidents which were officer-initiated are identical, and do not support the notion that female officers will use their own initiative less than males.

TABLE 8-1

Percent of Incidents which were Officer-Initiated
Controlling for Type of Unit

Type of Unit	Who Initiated Contact					
	Dispatcher	Citizen	Officer 1	Officer 2	Both Officers	Other
1 Man	66.7 (22)	0.0	33.3 (11)	N/A	N/A	0.0
1 Woman	61.4 (35)	5.3 (3)	33.3 (19)	N/A	N/A	0.0
Male-Female	50.0 (6)	0.0	0.0	0.0	41.7 (5)	8.3 (1)
Male-Male	38.5 (5)	0.0	23.1 (3)	30.8 (4)	0.0	7.7 (1)

We can also look at the types of incidents handled by males and females to see if any major differences exist in this area. While the percentages in Table 8-2 are somewhat unstable due to the relatively small number of cases, they do suggest that males and females are handling similar types of calls. The only large differences are that males dealt with a higher percentage of traffic or parking violations and that women handled a higher percentage of intoxicated persons. The latter finding can be explained by the fact that several tours of duty were spent with female officers who were assigned to the wagon and who were expected to transport drunks to the jail.

Table 8-2

Nature of Incident by Type of Unit
(in percent)

	1-Man	1-Woman	Male-Female	Male-Male
Argument in or Around Residence	2.9 (1)	5.3 (3)	9.1 (1)	0.0
Major Disturbance Outside of Residence	11.8 (4)	5.3 (3)	0.0	0.0
Intoxicated Person	2.9 (1)	19.3 (11)	0.0	0.0
Disorderly Person	5.9 (2)	10.5 (6)	36.4 (4)	38.5 (5)
Robbery	0.0	1.8 (1)	0.0	0.0
Mentally Disturbed Person	0.0	1.8 (1)	0.0	0.0
Sick or Injured Person	11.8 (4)	7.0 (4)	9.1 (1)	15.4 (2)
Theft or B & E	11.8 (4)	12.3 (7)	18.2 (2)	23.1 (3)
Stolen or Damaged Automobile	5.9 (2)	1.8 (1)	0.0	0.0
Prowler	0.0	1.8 (1)	0.0	0.0
Traffic or Parking Violation	23.5 (8)	7.0 (4)	18.2 (2)	15.4 (2)
Nuisance or Noise	2.9 (1)	0.0	0.0	0.0
Citizen Requests Assistance	0.0	3.5 (2)	0.0	0.0
Unspecified with Indication of Crime	0.0	7.0 (4)	0.0	0.0
No Answer or False Alarm	2.9 (1)	1.8 (1)	9.1 (1)	0.0
Assist Another Unit	8.8 (3)	8.8 (5)	0.0	0.0
Drug Case	2.9 (1)	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	5.9 (2)	5.3 (3)	0.0	7.7 (1)

Success of Control Techniques

As in the New York study, we looked at control techniques which were used by police officers in dealing with incidents. These control techniques range from persuasion to rough force. While we observed nine different types of control techniques, there were insufficient cases of most to allow for male-female comparisons. What we can compare is the extent to which these techniques are effective. Table 8-3 shows that males appear to be slightly more successful in achieving control than were females. However, since several of the cases which were classed as "Slightly successful" for female officers were intoxicated persons who did not respond because they were too drunk to do so, the differences are more apparent than real.

Table 8-3

Success of Control Techniques for 1-Man and 1-Woman Units

	Fully Successful	Substantial Success	Slight Success	Unsuccessful
Females	66.2 (43)	7.7 (5)	24.6 (16)	1.5 (1)
Males	82.8 (24)	10.3 (3)	3.4 (1)	3.4 (1)

Citizen Attitudes Toward Police

Tables 8-4 and 8-5 indicate the degree of friendliness and respect shown by citizens toward the police. These tables show the attitudes of civilians who have been contacted or stopped by the police either as a complainant, a witness, or a suspect, as well as anyone else who is involved in the incident. There is a good deal of similarity between reactions to officers of both sexes The largest difference is that more citizens are classed as "Very friendly" toward female officers, but there is a corresponding difference favoring males where "Friendly" citizens are concerned. Citizens also tended to be somewhat more respectful to female officers.

Table 8-4

Citizen Attitudes Toward Male and Female Officers
(in percent)

	Very Friendly	Friendly	Neutral	Hostile
Female Officers	27.1 (29)	13.1 (14)	28.0 (30)	31.8 (34)
Male Officers	9.1 (10)	34.5 (28)	34.5 (38)	21.8 (24)

1. For Tables 8-4 to 8-7, officers from both 1 and 2-person units are included. Also, more than one citizen was involved in many of the incidents.

Table 8-5

Respect Shown by Citizens Toward Male and Female Police Officers
(in percent)

	Very Respectful	Slightly Respectful	Neutral	Slightly Disrespectful	Very Disrespectful
Female Officers	27.0 (24)	30.3 (27)	27.0 (24)	10.0 (9)	5.6 (5)
Male Officers	18.2 (18)	24.2 (24)	32.3 (32)	18.2 (18)	7.1 (7)

Police Attitudes Toward Citizens

Tables 8-6 and 8-7 show the degree to which the police exhibit friendly attitudes toward citizens and the effect that the police officer has on the citizens s/he has dealt with. Both of these tables suggest that females are better at dealing with the public than are male officers. More females are classed as "very friendly" and fewer were observed acting in a hostile fashion. It is likely as a result of this more favorable attitude toward citizens that female officers are assessed as having a more positive effect on the public than are males.

Table 8-6

Police Attitudes Toward Citizens
(in percent)

	Very Friendly	Slightly Friendly	Neutral	Hostile
Female Officers	35.4 (35)	27.3 (27)	33.3 (33)	4.0 (4)
Male Officers	11.1 (12)	45.4 (49)	26.9 (29)	16.7 (18)

Table 8-7

Effect of Police on Citizens
(in percent)

	Very Positive	Slightly Positive	Neutral	Negative
Female Officers	42.4 (42)	22.2 (22)	29.3 (29)	6.1 (6)
Male Officers	17.1 (19)	34.2 (38)	33.3 (37)	15.3 (17)

Other

Two additional areas which we looked at in the observational study were the relationship between partners in male/female teams and the ability of females to deal with incidents involving physical force or strength. Unfortunately, insufficient data are available to provide adequate information in either of these areas. Regarding the first issue, the New York study found that females tended to defer to their male partners, even when the males were junior to them. This was not seen as being a serious problem, since the differences were not marked and since the female officers were as likely to take action on their own or to provide assistance when required. The major difference was that female partners did not initiate as many activities as did males and did not join their partners in control-seeking and joint decision-making to the extent that males did. Interestingly, much of this difference disappeared when two females were assigned to patrol together. In Vancouver we found that male and female partners shared the workload equally and both were equally likely to take charge of a situation. Females did not show greater deference to their partners than did males. In one case, for example, a male and female were checking a possibly impaired driver. When the male officer began to get annoyed with the citizen and began to threaten him, the female officer told him to get back in the car, and she finished dealing with the incident. Again, however, it must be emphasized that the data are extremely limited and are included here only for illustrative purposes.

This is also true of the data which are available concerning the use of physical strength or force. If we exclude carrying inebriates into the wagon (a job which was handled effectively by the female officers we observed), only 8 of the 116 incidents observed required any physical strength or required the officer to control a citizen's use of force. The most common incidents were breaking up fights (none required force) and climbing through windows. Male and female officers each dealt with four of these incidents and all were handled successfully. There were only two incidents where citizens attempted to use any force and both involved male officers.

Summary

It was found that males and females performed patrol duties in a similar fashion. Both handled similar types of calls and both were equally likely to initiate contacts with citizens.[2] Male and female officers used similar control-seeking techniques and had similar results, though males were slightly more likely to be fully successful in accomplishing their aims. Female officers were friendlier toward the public and had a more positive effect on citizens than did males. Citizens were more respectful and friendlier toward females. Female officers did not have any difficulty handling the limited number of observed incidents requiring strength or the possible use of force. Again it must be noted that the observational research was limited in scope and one must be cautious in interpreting the findings.

FOOTNOTES

1. Two observational studies which will not be reviewed here because of their relatively small scope are those done in Denver (Bartlett and Rosenblum, 1977) and St. Louis County (Sherman, 1975).

2. The only incident we observed where the performance of a female officer was not satisfactory was on one tour of duty in which the officer appeared reluctant to answer calls, and in one case drove around instead of responding to a call involving a fight. This was an isolated case and, if it is typical of that officer's performance, would probably call for action by her immediate supervisor rather than being a policy concern.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The data collected in this study are generally consistent with the findings of previous research carried out in the U.S. The general conclusion is that women can competently carry out general patrol duties and that their performance is, in most respects, very similar to that of male officers. The major findings of the study can be summarized as follows:

1. The number of women in Canadian police departments has been growing over the past 10 years and is likely to keep expanding in the future.
2. The number of arrests made by females and matched males is similar.
3. Male officers received more commendations than female officers while the females were responsible for fewer citizen complaints.
4. Supervisors' evaluations of the male and female officers were virtually identical.
5. Females took more sick leave than did males. However, males received more job-related injuries than females. Time lost for each injury was similar for the two groups.
6. Interviews with dispatchers indicated that there was little difference in their dispatch practices when female officers were on duty.

7. Analysis of dispatch records supported the interview data. There is little difference in the seriousness of calls to which males and females are dispatched and both sexes are equally likely to receive back-up. The only exception to this was that females were more likely than males to receive back-up when assigned to Priority 2 calls.
8. A significant proportion of male officers have negative attitudes toward female officers and particularly toward the policy of assigning females to general patrol duties. Many of the men do not feel that women are physically equipped to handle the demands of policing.
9. Male officers who have had extensive experience working with female officers have much more positive attitudes toward female police than do the other males in the department.
10. Female officers have a much more favorable view of their performance than do the males.
11. Both male and female officers reported a high level of job satisfaction, though the reasons given were somewhat different.
12. The women had slightly higher morale scores than the males, though many felt they had to work harder than males in order to have their accomplishments recognized or to be promoted.
13. Women report as high a level of career commitment as do men.
14. Attitudinal items indicate that men and women have similar views about the style with which police work is to be carried out.

15. Supervisors had more favorable attitudes toward female officers than did the rank and file. Supervisors rate the womens' performance as being satisfactory, feel that women should be carrying out general patrol duties and would be willing to have more females working for them. There is virtually no indication that women are considered to create more supervisory problems than males.

16. A limited field observation study showed little difference between the performance of males and females. Citizens responded more favorably toward female officers and female officers had a more positive effect on citizens than did males.

As has been the case in previous studies, the most striking finding is that despite the apparent similarity in the abilities and styles of male and female officers, the assignment of women to patrol duties is still resisted and resented by many male officers. They particularly object to the perceived inability of females to handle calls requiring strength or physical force, though many feel that women are not competent to handle other aspects of police work as well.

It is possible that the men are right, and that the research which has been done has simply failed to tap the subtle differences between male and female officers that make men capable of performing more effectively. However, given the volume of research which has been carried out, this does not seem plausible. For instance, if we

look at all the research which has been done in the area of women in policing, we find that almost 15,000 person-hours of observation has been carried out; several thousand interviews have been done and the records of over one-half dozen police departments have been searched. In addition, extensive interviewing has been carried out with the general public, with community leaders, and with those who have dealt with female officers. While some differences have been found in this research, the general conclusion has been that women are capable of carrying out patrol duties. In addition, supervisors and males who have worked with female officers have typically expressed positive attitudes toward the females' performance.

If we accept the research results as being valid, then we must still explain the source of the resistance of male officers toward women police. Kizziah and Morris (1977) have suggested that male officers have developed an understanding of police work which stresses characteristically male traits such as strength, aggressiveness and independence. There is a feeling that policing is a male preserve and that policing is a world in which there is little or no place for women. While some observers have said that women represent a threat to the "macho" image that males have of police work, this is likely an oversimplification. Some men simply do not feel that women are capable of doing police work.

Policing has been an almost exclusively male domain ever since the establishment of the first modern police department in London in 1829. Since men have been performing capably as police officers since

that time, the feeling exists that there is no real need to change. Women are seen as having been imposed on police departments by outside forces, and are not seen as having been brought into general police work because they can add something to the job. The typical male officer has not seen any need to change the status quo, since he and his peers have been able to do the work adequately without any help or interference from women. To him, the introduction of women means his working environment has become more complicated, he is afraid that his workload may increase if women cannot handle their share of the load, he no longer has as much faith in the ability of potential back-up units, the image of the job has been diminished, and his wife is upset because he might have to spend eight hours a day in a cruiser car with a woman. From this perspective his dissatisfaction is understandable.

Recommendations

Before discussing recommendations for changes in policies regarding female officers, it must be noted that for the most part the Vancouver department has been one of the most progressive in Canada in this area. It was the first Canadian department to hire women, one of the first to assign women to general patrol duties, and has the second highest proportion of female officers in the country. By and large female officers have been equitably treated. They take part in the full range of general patrol duties and are not restricted to the kinds of clerical and "female" jobs that still exist in many other departments. The opportunity to specialize has been open—women are employed in

intelligence units and have been assigned to both the Dog Squad and the Mounted Squad. Female officers have a high degree of commitment to the department and a high level of job satisfaction. Their morale is impressively high and most do not have any serious complaints about the policies of the department. The recommendations which follow should be looked at in this context.

1. Selection - For several years, the department has had physical entrance standards which are quite likely the most rigorous in Canada. The department requires a swimming examination requiring competence in a number of strokes, physical fitness evaluation tests, motor fitness and ability tests, and a job-related skill evaluation. This last test consists of a speed run (45.75 metres in 7.5 seconds), trigger pull, wall scale (1.82 metres), body drag (200 pounds over 30 metres), and a stretcher carry (200 pounds carried by two persons). Female applicants have had a difficult time meeting these standards and consequently few women have been hired in the past few years.

The department feels that these standards are job-related and that they are a necessary part of an overall fitness program which is being implemented. Despite this, consideration might be given to making these standards academy exit requirements instead of entrance requirements. That is, if one must meet these performance objectives in order to perform the job of patrol officer, then the opportunity should be given to meet these standards during training at the Academy.

2. Promotion - The only major problem area which was pointed out by the women was that of promotion. Many of the female officers as well as some of their supervisors and male co-workers felt that the department had been reluctant to promote females. As noted earlier, this study did not look at promotion policies but the degree of dissatisfaction was so extensive that the department might consider reviewing these policies to ensure that women receive equal consideration with men.

3. Male attitudes - The discrepancy between the performance of female officers and the attitudes of males toward them has been noted earlier. While I am somewhat skeptical of the prospect of changing attitudes by means of educational programs, the experience of those who have worked with and supervised female officers suggests that some change might be possible. It would not be desirable to schedule special training sessions to deal with women in policing, if only because this would appear to single women out as a special problem area. However, some time in recruit and in-service training courses could be spent considering some of the issues raised by the presence of women on the department.

One issue raised by the males which deserves attention is that of the possibility of marital problems resulting from assignment with an opposite sex partner (this applies to female officers as well, but none raised it as a particular problem). The solution to this problem which was most frequently suggested by the females and by the matched males was that the officer's spouse should meet the partner. While some of the respondents suggested that this might create more difficulties

than it would solve, the experience of males who had worked with females indicated that this was a successful way of minimizing the problem. Many of them said that their wives had not been happy about their assignment with a female partner, but that the situation had eased when the wife and partner became acquainted. Very few of these male officers reported that working with females still caused them any problems at home.

4. Training - There were very few complaints about the training program offered by the department. Most of those interviewed felt that it was effective and was relevant to the job. A number of females felt they would have benefited if they had had the opportunity to receive more training in self-defense.

5. Dispatch - Analysis of dispatch records indicated that female officers were more likely than males to receive back-up on Priority 2 calls. If this is a common practice, it should be determined whether or not the additional units dispatched are necessary.

6. Assignment - None of the women complained about the kinds of patrol assignments they were given. However, a few supervisors indicated that they had a policy of not assigning females to single-person cars. The data collected in this study suggests that this practice is not justified and should be eliminated.

One other aspect of assignment which was mentioned by a number of respondents is the policy of not assigning women to work in the jail.

While in practical terms the issue is not very important, it has generated a good deal of controversy in the department. Some of the men use this point to demonstrate their concern that women cannot do the same job as men. A number of the women have indicated that while they don't think that assignment to the jail is particularly desirable, they would welcome such an assignment in order to demonstrate that they don't receive special treatment. There are some good practical reasons why women shouldn't be assigned to the jail, but the symbolic importance of the issue is such that the department might consider reviewing its policies in this area.

In addition to the concerns which have been raised as a result of the research findings and which apply to the Vancouver department, my review of the literature on women in policing (Linden and Minch, 1979) looked at two additional areas where policy changes might be made. They will be discussed here only briefly as a detailed rationale for them is provided in the earlier report. They are not included in this report as specific recommendations to the Vancouver department, but are intended as suggestions which might facilitate the integration of women into policing in any department. Further, since they involve fairly basic policy changes, I would suggest that they be introduced on an experimental basis and that their impact be evaluated.

The first of these involves the introduction of more flexible policies regarding leaves of absence and part-time employment. While such options would have to be made available to officers of both sexes,

they would meet the needs of women who feel it is necessary to spend more time at home while raising a family. Labor force participation rates for women decrease between the ages of 25 and 30 and then increase fairly sharply. More flexible personnel policies would enable females to meet their family obligations without permanently leaving the department. Supervisors were asked their opinions of such a policy and 44 percent indicated that they favored such changes, 44 percent were opposed, and the remainder didn't have strong feelings one way or the other.

The other area in which changes might be considered is in the method of deploying women. Currently, almost all departments assign women to a number of different districts and avoid concentrating them in any one area. This means that women are rarely able to work with other women. In the literature review, evidence is presented that the fact that women are always a distinctive minority may have a negative impact on their performance. Some research done in the U.S. military has suggested that women don't integrate well into a male environment unless they make up from 10 to 25 percent of a unit's strength.

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